

THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

between the white and colored races. It is even stated that there is an implied willingness to promote such a state of things on the part of those who are in favor of striking the word "white" from the Constitution. I used to hear of this objection some years since, but I always supposed it was a joke. If any one had told me, before I came to the Legislature last Winter, that I should hear a grave and experienced statesman urging the objection in all seriousness upon the floor of this House, I should have laughed at him. I never could discover any meaning in such an objection. If there is a law of our nature impelling us to marry every body whom we wish to benefit, or whose political rights we wish to protect, it makes philanthropy a pretty dangerous business in the present high prices of provisions. I hope that if such a state of things is to be instituted, the fashion will prevail with it, for the head of a family to give to those dependent upon him only his blessing. How it should follow, that because I wish Patrick O'Brien or Pompey Caesar to enjoy the elective franchise, I should wish to give either the daughter, the widow, or the orphan, either of them, more than I am able to comprehend. There seems to be no connection between the premise and the conclusion. Our German friends sometimes call it a bad attempt at reasoning, inconsequent, and if this is not an example of the inconsequent I should desire to find an equally marked case of that sort of thing. But perhaps, sir, I am not as much alarmed about this matter as I ought to be. Never having perceived, either in myself or any of the friends that I esteem the slightest tendency to a fusion of that sort, it is natural that I should not be as much frightened as those who have had a different experience. I intend to have a mind open to light from any quarter on this subject. But, sir, to be serious, the tendency of giving the colored man the right of suffrage, would be directly the opposite of that which has been mentioned. The amalgamation between the races which has taken place in this country, has been the fruit of the degraded man's degraded position. Make a man of him, give him the rights and dignities of a citizen, and thereby teach him to respect himself and to respect and honor his own freedom, and he will be as averse to the distasteful commerce as you can possibly be.

I will not notice the objection that is made, is said that if this amendment to the Constitution should be adopted, a countless immigration of colored people would be emptied upon us from all quarters. The impression seems to prevail that the National Road, the Railroad, the canals, the Common Highways, the Telegraph, the wires would all be covered with a multitude of this class, all setting their faces towards some portion of our plains and valleys. It seems to me, sir, that gentlemen are nervous on this subject. I am convinced that no such result as they anticipate would follow. In Massachusetts and other New England States, the colored people have been allowed to vote for many years, but I never heard it complained, that there were more of them there than could be usefully employed in the various branches of business in which they engage. But suppose it should turn out to be true, that a few colored families, attracted to us by having learned that in Ohio the people were willing to give them their rights irrespective of color, should come among us to reside? Would that be any discredit to us? Would it be any dishonor to the State of Ohio that men should come here to find a refuge from oppression in other States? When we have often heard it mentioned as the proudest distinction of our nation that it opens an asylum for the poor, the persecuted, and the oppressed of every land! How often have we seen the wings of that much abused bird, the American Eagle, spread upon this subject? And why should we feel that it is honorable to the whole nation, be honorable to the State of Ohio? But if colored people should be induced to immigrate into our State for the reason before mentioned, what class of them would it be? What sort of men would they be that would abandon their homes, give up their little property, and journey with their families perhaps hundreds of miles, and at considerable expense, to reach a land where their manhood would be recognized, and a portion of the honor and power of the commonwealth be conferred to their keeping.

And how many would do us most credit when they got here. Those who most prize the elective franchise, or any other privilege, are those who can most safely be trusted with it. I have had opportunity to observe how this principle operates. I happen to live in a neighborhood where people have greater advantages than in any other place offered to the colored man, and they are crowded with a martial enthusiasm which makes them both ardent and steady in battle. No race of men that God ever created has furnished better soldiers. They distinguished themselves by their valor and their patient endurance during the fighting of the war of our Revolution. Until recently there were living, and probably there are living still, colored men with certificates of honorable discharge from the army signed by the Father of his Country. According to the historian Botta, the first martyr to liberty in this Continent—the first man who fell in the Boston Massacre—March 5th, 1770, was Crispus Attucks, a colored man. They fought at Bunker Hill, at the Brandywine, in all the great battles of the Revolution. When the traitor Arnold attacked Fort Mifflin, and Major Montgomery, a British officer, was slain, the first man who met him was Jordan Freeman, a colored man who pinned him dead to the earth with his bayonet. Jordan Freeman is an amusing name. It smacks of the negro characteristics. Jordan Freeman is a colored man, and he has the honor of being the first man to be killed in the war of our Revolution. But there was nothing ludicrous in Jordan Freeman to Major Montgomery, when Jordan Freeman's bayonet pierced his heart. A few years since I stood by Groton Monument upon the site of old Fort Griswold, and saw the names of Jordan Freeman and Sambo Latham engraved upon the tablet at the bottom of the tablet, and some distance from the names of the white men who suffered there, as if there might be some contagion even in their names. But the vulgar engraver has given them an honorable prominence without intending it. The eye of every visitor turns to them, for isolation has made them conspicuous, and among the traditions of that barbarous massacre, still cherished by the people of Groton and New London, is one to the effect, that when some of the white soldiers were surrendering their arms only to be butchered, like sheep, Jordan Freeman and Sambo Latham, standing at bay, struck manfully right and left, never yielding while life remained, and their last breath was poured out in a blow for their names. They can afford to stand alone upon the monument, for every man who gazes upon their names knows that of all the blood that was spilt at Fort Griswold there was none more heroic than theirs. In the war of 1812, some of the most effective soldiers were colored men. At the battle of New Orleans they numbered 420 out of a little army of 3,600. General Jackson issued a proclamation

just before the battle, inviting them to flatter terms to join his standard, and after the battle, in another proclamation, he publicly complimented them on their fidelity and valor. He declares that he had expected great things of them, knowing that they had many admirable qualities for soldiers, but that his expectations had been more than realized. He stationed them near him on the field of battle. He felt no objection to their staid forms among his men, black though they were, when the columns of Packham thickened in the distance.

"And the long line came gleaming on." He cared not how flat their noses were, if they were only set steadily against the enemy. He liked a black brave better than a white coward. They fought with the most determined valor, and the memory of their heroism is still cherished by the people of Louisiana. In 1851, at a grand celebration in New Orleans of the battle of the 6th of January, according to the papers of that city, the colored survivors of that battle formed the most interesting part of the imposing pageant. And I suppose it to be owing to the grateful remembrance by the inhabitants, of those heroic defenders of their metropolitan city, that colored men have for a long time been allowed to vote in Louisiana, and informed, and I suppose, to be true, that the word "white" is not to be found in the Constitution of that state. Such are the chivalrous qualities of the colored race of this country—qualities which might be further illustrated by historical facts, to almost any extent. I ask, sir, if we can afford to lose this enthusiastic valor—these lofty energies of character? Ought they not to be cherished and developed, and enlisted to the fullest extent in the service of the commonwealth? Are magnanimous qualities so cheap that we can afford to throw them away? We use ignorance, we use folly, we use cowardice, we use the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abolitionists, since 1851, considerably outnumber either those born amongst us, or brought in to the state, and very nearly both together.

This is a serious, stubborn fact, and is pregnant with considerations which our statesmen would do well to constantly bear in mind. If a census of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, should disclose the fact that the number of slaves in either of those States had decreased ten per cent, in six years, the circumstances would possess but little significance; it would only show that the demand for slaves at the extreme South, where they are consumed, had been nearly equal to the supply of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, where they are produced. In the case of Missouri, where they are old slave-growing States, and if, during any period, they should sell more slaves to the South than they had raised during the same time, the fact would by no means, warrant the opinion that the institution of slavery was crumbling in them. In the case of Missouri, it will still remain, but it is a new State, and its population in the last six years is only eighteen hundred and twenty-three, while the increase of her white population in the same period is 244,340. And yet, slave labor is not unprofitable in Missouri. On the contrary, it is highly remunerative, as the prosperity of the Hemp and Tobacco raisers of the State, who generally own a larger number of slaves than other farmers, proves. But it is more profitable in the extreme Southern States, and hence the exportation of negroes to the South from Missouri to an extent which, if it continues, will sooner or later render Missouri slaveless.

We are not discussing the Emancipation question. It is a subject which need not be discussed by partisans and demagogues in the arena of party politics, but it is a subject which should be discussed by statesmen, and by the people, in the quietness of their homes. We have only stated facts—mere, stubborn facts—backed by figures, and made them the basis of truly legitimate conclusions. Now, what shall be done? Nothing at all. If slavery in Missouri has, of itself, and under no artificial stimulus, but under the influence of its own natural and healthy course alone, taken the incipient steps

towards self-extinction, all the legislative enactments that can be thought of; all the slave-codes, however severe, that may be adopted; all the encouragement that may be held out to the importation, and all the obstacles that may be thrown in the way of exportation, cannot arrest its progress. All Abolitionism, could not root slavery out of Missouri, unless aided by the co-operation of the intrinsic laws of slavery itself, so the intensest Pro-Slaveryism that can be brought to the task, cannot keep the institution in the State even once it has commenced to extinguish itself. If decay is eating at the heart of the system, outward plasterings and appliances while they may retard, will not suspend the action of the disease. Then let there be no better agitation. If slavery is about to abolish itself in Missouri, it will do so without the aid of Abolitionists, and in spite of the opposition of Pro-Slavery men. Let the Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men keep quiet, and not set up a great howl of exultation at the probable self-extinction of the system, claiming it as their work; for the event, if it ever occur, will not be due to their efforts, but to the operation of natural, normal causes.

"For land and life, for child and wife,
To do what it can do."

Throughout the South the noblest and most intelligent spirits are oppressed with a sense of past outrage and anticipated wrong. The rank and file of the Southern Democracy are six years ago in the dream of coming treachery. Confidence and hope are scarcely anywhere; doubt prevails, treason plots nearly everywhere; and the friends of the South can enjoy no holiday hereafter until the final issue is joined and the great battle lost or won. Many of those who, during the last campaign, secured the Delta for its slaveholders in regard to the all-sufficiency to the South of Mr. Buchanan, and platform annexed, are beginning now to see and acknowledge, as we long before predicted, that his election decided nothing and that the darkness which surrounded us under Gen. Pierce's Administration would be deepened by the election of his successor. They refuse to join in the denunciation of what was flippantly styled our ultraism, for they perceive that every blow aimed at the obnoxious Southern extremists is directed against the very heart of the South. There are many others whose blood has not been chilled by the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abolitionists, since 1851, considerably outnumber either those born amongst us, or brought in to the state, and very nearly both together.

This is a serious, stubborn fact, and is pregnant with considerations which our statesmen would do well to constantly bear in mind. If a census of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, should disclose the fact that the number of slaves in either of those States had decreased ten per cent, in six years, the circumstances would possess but little significance; it would only show that the demand for slaves at the extreme South, where they are consumed, had been nearly equal to the supply of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, where they are produced. In the case of Missouri, where they are old slave-growing States, and if, during any period, they should sell more slaves to the South than they had raised during the same time, the fact would by no means, warrant the opinion that the institution of slavery was crumbling in them. In the case of Missouri, it will still remain, but it is a new State, and its population in the last six years is only eighteen hundred and twenty-three, while the increase of her white population in the same period is 244,340. And yet, slave labor is not unprofitable in Missouri. On the contrary, it is highly remunerative, as the prosperity of the Hemp and Tobacco raisers of the State, who generally own a larger number of slaves than other farmers, proves. But it is more profitable in the extreme Southern States, and hence the exportation of negroes to the South from Missouri to an extent which, if it continues, will sooner or later render Missouri slaveless.

We are not discussing the Emancipation question. It is a subject which need not be discussed by partisans and demagogues in the arena of party politics, but it is a subject which should be discussed by statesmen, and by the people, in the quietness of their homes. We have only stated facts—mere, stubborn facts—backed by figures, and made them the basis of truly legitimate conclusions. Now, what shall be done? Nothing at all. If slavery in Missouri has, of itself, and under no artificial stimulus, but under the influence of its own natural and healthy course alone, taken the incipient steps

towards self-extinction, all the legislative enactments that can be thought of; all the slave-codes, however severe, that may be adopted; all the encouragement that may be held out to the importation, and all the obstacles that may be thrown in the way of exportation, cannot arrest its progress. All Abolitionism, could not root slavery out of Missouri, unless aided by the co-operation of the intrinsic laws of slavery itself, so the intensest Pro-Slaveryism that can be brought to the task, cannot keep the institution in the State even once it has commenced to extinguish itself. If decay is eating at the heart of the system, outward plasterings and appliances while they may retard, will not suspend the action of the disease. Then let there be no better agitation. If slavery is about to abolish itself in Missouri, it will do so without the aid of Abolitionists, and in spite of the opposition of Pro-Slavery men. Let the Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men keep quiet, and not set up a great howl of exultation at the probable self-extinction of the system, claiming it as their work; for the event, if it ever occur, will not be due to their efforts, but to the operation of natural, normal causes.

"For land and life, for child and wife,
To do what it can do."

Throughout the South the noblest and most intelligent spirits are oppressed with a sense of past outrage and anticipated wrong. The rank and file of the Southern Democracy are six years ago in the dream of coming treachery. Confidence and hope are scarcely anywhere; doubt prevails, treason plots nearly everywhere; and the friends of the South can enjoy no holiday hereafter until the final issue is joined and the great battle lost or won. Many of those who, during the last campaign, secured the Delta for its slaveholders in regard to the all-sufficiency to the South of Mr. Buchanan, and platform annexed, are beginning now to see and acknowledge, as we long before predicted, that his election decided nothing and that the darkness which surrounded us under Gen. Pierce's Administration would be deepened by the election of his successor. They refuse to join in the denunciation of what was flippantly styled our ultraism, for they perceive that every blow aimed at the obnoxious Southern extremists is directed against the very heart of the South. There are many others whose blood has not been chilled by the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abolitionists, since 1851, considerably outnumber either those born amongst us, or brought in to the state, and very nearly both together.

This is a serious, stubborn fact, and is pregnant with considerations which our statesmen would do well to constantly bear in mind. If a census of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, should disclose the fact that the number of slaves in either of those States had decreased ten per cent, in six years, the circumstances would possess but little significance; it would only show that the demand for slaves at the extreme South, where they are consumed, had been nearly equal to the supply of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, where they are produced. In the case of Missouri, where they are old slave-growing States, and if, during any period, they should sell more slaves to the South than they had raised during the same time, the fact would by no means, warrant the opinion that the institution of slavery was crumbling in them. In the case of Missouri, it will still remain, but it is a new State, and its population in the last six years is only eighteen hundred and twenty-three, while the increase of her white population in the same period is 244,340. And yet, slave labor is not unprofitable in Missouri. On the contrary, it is highly remunerative, as the prosperity of the Hemp and Tobacco raisers of the State, who generally own a larger number of slaves than other farmers, proves. But it is more profitable in the extreme Southern States, and hence the exportation of negroes to the South from Missouri to an extent which, if it continues, will sooner or later render Missouri slaveless.

We are not discussing the Emancipation question. It is a subject which need not be discussed by partisans and demagogues in the arena of party politics, but it is a subject which should be discussed by statesmen, and by the people, in the quietness of their homes. We have only stated facts—mere, stubborn facts—backed by figures, and made them the basis of truly legitimate conclusions. Now, what shall be done? Nothing at all. If slavery in Missouri has, of itself, and under no artificial stimulus, but under the influence of its own natural and healthy course alone, taken the incipient steps

towards self-extinction, all the legislative enactments that can be thought of; all the slave-codes, however severe, that may be adopted; all the encouragement that may be held out to the importation, and all the obstacles that may be thrown in the way of exportation, cannot arrest its progress. All Abolitionism, could not root slavery out of Missouri, unless aided by the co-operation of the intrinsic laws of slavery itself, so the intensest Pro-Slaveryism that can be brought to the task, cannot keep the institution in the State even once it has commenced to extinguish itself. If decay is eating at the heart of the system, outward plasterings and appliances while they may retard, will not suspend the action of the disease. Then let there be no better agitation. If slavery is about to abolish itself in Missouri, it will do so without the aid of Abolitionists, and in spite of the opposition of Pro-Slavery men. Let the Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men keep quiet, and not set up a great howl of exultation at the probable self-extinction of the system, claiming it as their work; for the event, if it ever occur, will not be due to their efforts, but to the operation of natural, normal causes.

"For land and life, for child and wife,
To do what it can do."

Throughout the South the noblest and most intelligent spirits are oppressed with a sense of past outrage and anticipated wrong. The rank and file of the Southern Democracy are six years ago in the dream of coming treachery. Confidence and hope are scarcely anywhere; doubt prevails, treason plots nearly everywhere; and the friends of the South can enjoy no holiday hereafter until the final issue is joined and the great battle lost or won. Many of those who, during the last campaign, secured the Delta for its slaveholders in regard to the all-sufficiency to the South of Mr. Buchanan, and platform annexed, are beginning now to see and acknowledge, as we long before predicted, that his election decided nothing and that the darkness which surrounded us under Gen. Pierce's Administration would be deepened by the election of his successor. They refuse to join in the denunciation of what was flippantly styled our ultraism, for they perceive that every blow aimed at the obnoxious Southern extremists is directed against the very heart of the South. There are many others whose blood has not been chilled by the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abolitionists, since 1851, considerably outnumber either those born amongst us, or brought in to the state, and very nearly both together.

This is a serious, stubborn fact, and is pregnant with considerations which our statesmen would do well to constantly bear in mind. If a census of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, should disclose the fact that the number of slaves in either of those States had decreased ten per cent, in six years, the circumstances would possess but little significance; it would only show that the demand for slaves at the extreme South, where they are consumed, had been nearly equal to the supply of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, where they are produced. In the case of Missouri, where they are old slave-growing States, and if, during any period, they should sell more slaves to the South than they had raised during the same time, the fact would by no means, warrant the opinion that the institution of slavery was crumbling in them. In the case of Missouri, it will still remain, but it is a new State, and its population in the last six years is only eighteen hundred and twenty-three, while the increase of her white population in the same period is 244,340. And yet, slave labor is not unprofitable in Missouri. On the contrary, it is highly remunerative, as the prosperity of the Hemp and Tobacco raisers of the State, who generally own a larger number of slaves than other farmers, proves. But it is more profitable in the extreme Southern States, and hence the exportation of negroes to the South from Missouri to an extent which, if it continues, will sooner or later render Missouri slaveless.

We are not discussing the Emancipation question. It is a subject which need not be discussed by partisans and demagogues in the arena of party politics, but it is a subject which should be discussed by statesmen, and by the people, in the quietness of their homes. We have only stated facts—mere, stubborn facts—backed by figures, and made them the basis of truly legitimate conclusions. Now, what shall be done? Nothing at all. If slavery in Missouri has, of itself, and under no artificial stimulus, but under the influence of its own natural and healthy course alone, taken the incipient steps

towards self-extinction, all the legislative enactments that can be thought of; all the slave-codes, however severe, that may be adopted; all the encouragement that may be held out to the importation, and all the obstacles that may be thrown in the way of exportation, cannot arrest its progress. All Abolitionism, could not root slavery out of Missouri, unless aided by the co-operation of the intrinsic laws of slavery itself, so the intensest Pro-Slaveryism that can be brought to the task, cannot keep the institution in the State even once it has commenced to extinguish itself. If decay is eating at the heart of the system, outward plasterings and appliances while they may retard, will not suspend the action of the disease. Then let there be no better agitation. If slavery is about to abolish itself in Missouri, it will do so without the aid of Abolitionists, and in spite of the opposition of Pro-Slavery men. Let the Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men keep quiet, and not set up a great howl of exultation at the probable self-extinction of the system, claiming it as their work; for the event, if it ever occur, will not be due to their efforts, but to the operation of natural, normal causes.

"For land and life, for child and wife,
To do what it can do."

Throughout the South the noblest and most intelligent spirits are oppressed with a sense of past outrage and anticipated wrong. The rank and file of the Southern Democracy are six years ago in the dream of coming treachery. Confidence and hope are scarcely anywhere; doubt prevails, treason plots nearly everywhere; and the friends of the South can enjoy no holiday hereafter until the final issue is joined and the great battle lost or won. Many of those who, during the last campaign, secured the Delta for its slaveholders in regard to the all-sufficiency to the South of Mr. Buchanan, and platform annexed, are beginning now to see and acknowledge, as we long before predicted, that his election decided nothing and that the darkness which surrounded us under Gen. Pierce's Administration would be deepened by the election of his successor. They refuse to join in the denunciation of what was flippantly styled our ultraism, for they perceive that every blow aimed at the obnoxious Southern extremists is directed against the very heart of the South. There are many others whose blood has not been chilled by the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abolitionists, since 1851, considerably outnumber either those born amongst us, or brought in to the state, and very nearly both together.

This is a serious, stubborn fact, and is pregnant with considerations which our statesmen would do well to constantly bear in mind. If a census of Virginia, or Maryland, or Kentucky, should disclose the fact that the number of slaves in either of those States had decreased ten per cent, in six years, the circumstances would possess but little significance; it would only show that the demand for slaves at the extreme South, where they are consumed, had been nearly equal to the supply of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, where they are produced. In the case of Missouri, where they are old slave-growing States, and if, during any period, they should sell more slaves to the South than they had raised during the same time, the fact would by no means, warrant the opinion that the institution of slavery was crumbling in them. In the case of Missouri, it will still remain, but it is a new State, and its population in the last six years is only eighteen hundred and twenty-three, while the increase of her white population in the same period is 244,340. And yet, slave labor is not unprofitable in Missouri. On the contrary, it is highly remunerative, as the prosperity of the Hemp and Tobacco raisers of the State, who generally own a larger number of slaves than other farmers, proves. But it is more profitable in the extreme Southern States, and hence the exportation of negroes to the South from Missouri to an extent which, if it continues, will sooner or later render Missouri slaveless.

We are not discussing the Emancipation question. It is a subject which need not be discussed by partisans and demagogues in the arena of party politics, but it is a subject which should be discussed by statesmen, and by the people, in the quietness of their homes. We have only stated facts—mere, stubborn facts—backed by figures, and made them the basis of truly legitimate conclusions. Now, what shall be done? Nothing at all. If slavery in Missouri has, of itself, and under no artificial stimulus, but under the influence of its own natural and healthy course alone, taken the incipient steps

towards self-extinction, all the legislative enactments that can be thought of; all the slave-codes, however severe, that may be adopted; all the encouragement that may be held out to the importation, and all the obstacles that may be thrown in the way of exportation, cannot arrest its progress. All Abolitionism, could not root slavery out of Missouri, unless aided by the co-operation of the intrinsic laws of slavery itself, so the intensest Pro-Slaveryism that can be brought to the task, cannot keep the institution in the State even once it has commenced to extinguish itself. If decay is eating at the heart of the system, outward plasterings and appliances while they may retard, will not suspend the action of the disease. Then let there be no better agitation. If slavery is about to abolish itself in Missouri, it will do so without the aid of Abolitionists, and in spite of the opposition of Pro-Slavery men. Let the Free-Soilers and Anti-Slavery men keep quiet, and not set up a great howl of exultation at the probable self-extinction of the system, claiming it as their work; for the event, if it ever occur, will not be due to their efforts, but to the operation of natural, normal causes.

"For land and life, for child and wife,
To do what it can do."

Throughout the South the noblest and most intelligent spirits are oppressed with a sense of past outrage and anticipated wrong. The rank and file of the Southern Democracy are six years ago in the dream of coming treachery. Confidence and hope are scarcely anywhere; doubt prevails, treason plots nearly everywhere; and the friends of the South can enjoy no holiday hereafter until the final issue is joined and the great battle lost or won. Many of those who, during the last campaign, secured the Delta for its slaveholders in regard to the all-sufficiency to the South of Mr. Buchanan, and platform annexed, are beginning now to see and acknowledge, as we long before predicted, that his election decided nothing and that the darkness which surrounded us under Gen. Pierce's Administration would be deepened by the election of his successor. They refuse to join in the denunciation of what was flippantly styled our ultraism, for they perceive that every blow aimed at the obnoxious Southern extremists is directed against the very heart of the South. There are many others whose blood has not been chilled by the shadow of Wheatland, and who have always refused to acknowledge the Federal capital as the political Mecca of the South. To those men Calhoun still lives in the grand thoughts he uttered, and Quimball and Davis are of the stuff they want in leaders; and while we have such men we need not thank Heaven, their number is better increasing—sunlight and dew shall not be wanting for the South; and flowers, and fruitage, and a golden future may yet attend her destiny.

Before the contest of 1860 the Black Republican party is likely to absorb the greater portion of the Democracy of the North, or the latter will absorb the greater portion of the former; and, in either case, by whatever name the new combination may be called, it will be guilty of the same crime. The South, a balance of power position, through the sentiment of Union and the fascination of Federal office. What, then, should be the course of the Southern Democracy? Clearly to merge itself into a counter organization, call it Democratic or what you will, with its base at the South and its head at the North, and the North will be able to hold the balance of power by this means in the North, very well; it could save the South and possibly the Union. If not, then it would have a basis for immediate action, and could appeal confidently to the justice of its cause and the justifications in the assertion of Southern independence.

From the St. Louis News.

THE EMANCIPATION QUESTION SOLVED—THE ISSUE OF SLAVERY IN MISSOURI.

It appears by the recent census of Missouri that while the white population of the State has increased thirty-eight per cent, the colored population has increased only about two per cent, in the same time. There are 244,340 white people in Missouri now than there was in 1851, while the addition to the number of slaves since that year, is only 1,223. It is evident that this numerical increase of the colored population is not even proportionate to the natural increase of the number of slaves (88,327) in the State in 1851; for negroes are proverbially prolific animals, under the circumstances at all favorable to their multiplication. Neither is it equal to the number of slaves that have been brought into the State by the slave trade, from Kentucky and Virginia who have settled in Missouri within the last half dozen years; for several instances of companies of such "emigrants," with as many as 100 negroes each, have been brought into the State by the slave trade, in the last year. Certainly not less than three hundred slaves have been imported into Missouri from other slave States, during the last six years. What, then is the conclusion irresistibly forced upon us by these undeniable facts? Simply this—that slaves have not increased in the State, and that the State altogether, has been born in, or brought into the State. Out of all that have been born in, and all that have been brought into the state, since 1851, only enough have been retained to give the paltry increase of two per cent, on 88,327, in six years.

Here is the key to the true solution of the emancipation question in Missouri. If these figures are correct—and we are not aware that they have been questioned—slavery has reached its climax in this State, and is on the wane. It has reached a point beyond which it cannot, or will not, sustain itself, and is, henceforth, doomed to decline. The number of slaves, had there been no slaves brought into Missouri, in the last six years, as in the case with the slave States Virginia, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina, there cannot be a doubt that a positive decrease in our number of slaves would have been the result of the present census. The fact is beyond question, that the slaves we have sold to the South and set free, together with those who have run away and been stolen by the Abol

